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QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

THE MODERATOR:

OR,

Conſiderations Propos'd, &c.

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THE MODERATOR:

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IN ORDER

To end the Unſeaſonable Debates concerning the Legality of the late Happy Revolution.

BY A

Country MINISTER of this Church of *ENGLAND*, Zealouſly Devoted to her DOCTRINE and DISCIPLINE, as by LAW Eſtabliſhed.

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THE

MODERATOR:

OR,

Conſiderations Propos'd, &c.

I Suppoſe it is a matter equally Offenſive to all honeſt thinking Perſons, to obſerve what Tools our Party Conteſts have render'd us to our oppoſite Adverſaries, who are buſie behind the Curtain (on both ſides) fomenting our diſagreements, to the ſhaking our preſent Eſtabliſhment both in Church and State, in order to make way, for the introducing either a *Common Wealth*, or *Popiſh Tyranny*; and that there are none ſo violently excited to oppoſe each other, as the Clergy of our own Church, who are moſt Scandalouſly divided into Two Parties, and have reproach'd each other with the diſtinguiſhing Denominations of *High-Church*, and *Low-Church*: Appellations that have not the leaſt foundation, from their differences about Religion purely, being all of them (for the generality) of both Parties, Zealous for the Doctrine and Diſcipline of our excellent Church: But taking their rice chiefly, from their different Sentiments con-

concerning the Legality of our late Revolution, which ſome endeavouring to defend by Popular Arguments, have ſtirr'd up others to reproach the whole proceeding, as carried on by plain Rebellion and Uſurpation; which has excited them at laſt, to impute both theſe abominable Crimes, to that excellent Heroick Prince, who (under God) was the principal cauſe of our preſent Happy Eſtabliſhment under the beſt of Queens; and her clear Title, and Wiſe and Succeſsful Conduct, for ſome Years in the dangerous and tickliſh times of War, (againſt the Common Enemy and Oppreſſor.)

One would think this ſhould have ſilenced all debates of this Nature, eſpecially ſince there is no Perſon now in being (but one of a very uncertain Original) who pretends to any Title to the Crown; and yet now (for all this) there are Perſons amongſt us, who have lately revived all the former debates concerning the Legality of the late Revolution, and that with ſuch Zealous oppoſition to each other, that in their heat they have not ſpared to bring the Title of our preſent incomparable Queen into the Controverſy, as if that depended abſolutely upon the Truth of their own Hypotheſis; whereas there are ſeveral Good and Learned Men amongſt us, who are throughly ſatisfied in their Conſciences, as well with the Legality of our Revolution, by the Conduct of the late King, as the preſent Title of our Excellent Queen; and yet adhere ſtiffly to all the Loyal Doctrines of our Orthodox Church of *England*. And in order to the ſatisfaction of theſe, and the quieting of others, I offer theſe Conſiderations, without any deſign, or poſitively determining any thing

thing, either for or againſt either of the Two Parties beforemention'd; but in order to put an end to their unſeaſonable Debates, and that theſe may be embraced at laſt by all true Sons of our Eſtabliſh'd Church, and made uſe of to the quieting their Debates about our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and the vindicating the Clergy from the unjuſt imputation of Diſloyalty, or unconſtancy (in their firſt Swearing Allegiance to King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, and (ſince their Deceaſe) to Queen *ANN*; I ſhall endeavour in a plain Vulgar method (not as a Politition or a Lawyer, but as a Divine) to ſet the whole Revolution in a Clear light and ſhew you how that our cloſing with it, was and is in no reſpects diſagreeable to the Doctrines of our Eſtabliſhed Church, (as a general Rule for us to walk by) for the Principles of her moſt Conſcientious Aſſertors.

In the Proſecution of which deſign, I ſhall, firſt, ſet before you the Doctrines of our Church, in plain intelligible words concerning the Obedience and Submiſſion of Subjects, as they are regularly deduced from plain Texts of Scripture, and received into our Publick Acknowledgments.

And then ſhew you, How that the late Revolution was begun and carried on by King *WILLIAM*, and accompliſh'd in ſuch a manner, and by ſuch juſtifiable Methods in Him, as that any Honeſt Man (without any Contradiction to the Doctines of our Church) might Reſolutely cloſe with it.

And withal, I ſhall ſet before you, ſome of the chiefeſt of thoſe popular Arguments, that in the Opinion of many Learned and Honeſt Men, ſeem to juſtifie Reſiſtance in Subjects in ſome extraordinary Caſes, and

ſhew

ſhew nevertheleſs, that we are not concern'd in the practice of any ſuch thing.

'Tis true, there were (as we are aſſured by the Prince in his Declaration) ſome particular Perſons of great Quality, and others, who invited him over to our Relief; and when he was Landed with a Foreign Army, ſome of theſe, with others, ran in to him, for Protection under his Arms, and 'tis poſſible that they might ſincerely think in their Conſciences, that the natural Principle of Self-preſervation might in great Meaſure excuſe, if not juſtifie them therein, conſidering the inevitable Dangers, which we were all under of being deſtroyed by thoſe many *Iriſh*, and other bigotted Papiſts, then in the King's Army, and whoſe Numbers dayly increas'd, as the King could weed out the Proteſtants (who were not for his Purpoſe) to put in Papiſts in their Rooms, who would ſoon have Maſter'd all the Proteſtants of the whole Iſland, if the Prince had been unſucceſsful in his attempt to preſerve us, eſpecially they being abetted by the *French* King's Power; beſides it may well be Charitably Conjectur'd, that none, or no great number of theſe Perſons (who ran in to the Prince) had any deſign, either to offer violence to the King's Perſon, or Dethrone him; but only,

Firſt, To prevent the effuſion of a Deluge of Chriſtian Blood, which muſt neceſſarily have been the Conſequence, if either the Prince had not been prevailed upon to come to our Relief; or if he had been oppos'd by force of Arms after his Landing.

Secondly,

Secondly, To give the Prince an opportunity to prevail with the King (in a Treaty) whilſt the Sword was in his Hand, to yield to the reſtoring, and ſecuring our antient Liberties and Properties, and the Legal Government in Church and State ; which good deſign was irrecoverably defeated from being accompliſh'd in that way, by the King's willful deſertion, which brought matters to that extremity, That nothing leſs could be ſufficient to ſecure the whole Nation from Ruine, than what was afterwards brought to paſs by a free Convention of the whole Community, after a full Debate upon the whole Matter, as any Wiſe, Thinking Man may plainly diſcern, who conſiders impartially the Circumſtances we were then under.

Now, whether the Popular Arguments of ſome Men are the only Medium to be made uſe of for the Juſtification of theſe Proceedings, or whether they may not be accounted for from others more agreeable to the Doctrine of the Homilies of our Church of *England*, is the Thing which I have attempted to ſhew; and if my Endeavours prove ſucceſsful in ſilencing the Unſeaſonable Debates upon this Subject, or at leaſt in the Satisfaction of honeſt-minded Men, in their Adherence to the Preſent Government (who may be ſomething ſtartled with theſe Debates, and are not ſufficient Judges of ſuch intricate Diſputes) it is all I aim at.

And, Firſt then, That no Men in theſe latter Ages have been more famous for their profeſſed Principles of Loyalty than the genuine Sons of the Church of *England*, is a

Truth that needs no Proof: *Submission* to their *Lawful Princes*, being one of the main *distinguishing Doctrines* by which they are *distinguished*, as well from their Brethren of the *Reform'd Religion*, as *Papists*, and for which they have been justly valued and honour'd for some Ages; and I suppose that they have not yet given any Occasion to be thought to degenerate at last from the *antient Principles* of this *glorious Church*, which they profess themselves Members of; especially, since she is now bless'd with so many *Reverend Sons* of great *Learning* and *Piety*, that I suppose no Church in the World (of the same Extent) has afforded a greater Number of such accomplish'd Persons at once since the Apostles times: And, that they may still retain that great Esteem which they had acquir'd (upon the Account of their *Loyalty* and *Submission* to their *Lawful Prince*) I shall endeavour in a few Lines to justifie the Acknowledging their Allegiance to be due, first to King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, and now to Queen *ANN* (upon this late Revolution) to be consistent with the *Doctrines* of *Loyalty* and *Submission* established in the *Church* of *England*; and this I shall do by giving you, first a Description of that *Duty of Submission*, which the *Church* enjoyns, and that by observing the Difference betwixt *Obedience* and *Submission*: For these are not always the same, but sometimes subordinate, sometimes co-incident; but never opposite: And tho' there can be no *Obedience* without *Submission*; yet there may be *Submission* without *Obedience*; and therefore *Submission* goes farther, and is sometimes extended beyond *Obedience*, and ought necessarily to be practi-

practiſed, when *Obedience* would be ſinful: for *Submiſſion* in ſome Caſes may imply no more than a *paſſive Non-Reſiſtance* of the *Power* of the *Supreme Magiſtrate*; whereas *Obedience* always implies an active Willingneſs and Readineſs to *obey* all that be in Command according to the Laws of the Land; and this proceeds from thoſe Bounds of Obedience which are ſet to the Authority of Human Laws, by the ſuperior Laws of *God* and *Nature*, which ſet a Stop to our Obedience to ſome Humane Laws, where Submiſſion is nevertheleſs due, and cannot be denied without the Juſt Cenſure of Sinful Diſobedience or Rebellion: For we ſee, that tho' the Apoſtles of Chriſt would not obey the Commands of their Rulers, *Acts* 4. 16, 18. yet were they ſtill ſubject to their Power, and ſubmitted themſelves to be Impriſon'd, without any Reſiſtance. For tho' there were Bounds ſet to their Obedience to the Laws of Heathen Governments, under which they liv'd, as appears by their Anſwer (*We ought to obey God rather than Man*) yet there were no Bounds ſet to their *Submiſſion to thoſe Laws and Governments.*

And hence we learn, That *Submiſſion* is a Duty of a larger Extent than *Obedience*, and is to be payd to Governors, in all things not contrary to the Laws of God, or the Laws of the Land too, tho' they are not agreeable to the Laws of God. And this is the plain Doctrine both of St. *Peter*, 1 *Ep.* 2. and of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13, who exhort all Chriſtians to *ſubmit* to thoſe very Heathen Governments, whoſe Laws were in many Inſtances contrary to the Laws of Chriſt; that is, to ſuffer the Penalty of thoſe Heathen Laws patiently, ra-

ther than rebel againſt the Government by which they were executed: And this is as much as any Pagan Prince could in Reaſon require, or indeed any other Prince expect, that has not drank deep of the *Cup of Abominations*, *and Filthineſs of the Scarlet Whore's Fornication*, mentioned, *Rev.* 17. 4. and this is the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. 'Tis true, ſhe ſeems to extend the *Duty of Submiſſion* in *private Subjects* yet farther than the Laws of the Land oblige; and that *Reſiſtance* in any *Subject* againſt the *Sovereign Prince* (in full Poſſeſſion of the Throne) tho' he commands things contrary to the Laws, is abſolutely prohibited by her, appears in the Declarations ſhe requires of all, and the Doctrines of that Nature in her publick Inſtruments, which we muſt all acknowledge, *viz.* the Homilies, *&c.* But yet we do not find it determined in any of her Conſtitutions, whether a King may not forfeit or abdicate his Throne and Dignity; which is a Point, that I know ſome of the moſt Learned Men in the World have determin'd in the Affirmative; and ſome of the greateſt Loyaliſts of the Church, even in the time of King *Charles* the Second, and that at a time when Loyalty was ſtrained up to its higheſt Pitch, have ſeem'd to conſent thereunto, upon a Suppoſal that it were poſſible that ever a Prince ſhould commit ſuch things as are by thoſe Men mention'd as a Ground of their Forfeiture: Such is, for Inſtance, Mr. *Falkner*, in his Treatiſe of *Chriſtian Loyalty*; and others might be produced in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* the Firſt; but I ſhall only mention that moſt Learned Archbiſhop of *Spalato*, who was as zealous

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an Asserter of the *Divine Right of Kings*, and the *Loyalty of Subjects*, as any Man that ever wrote upon that Subject; and yet he at last instances in one Case, wherein a Prince might be resisted by his Subjects, as alienated from them, *viz.* when he shall take up Arms against his own People, in Conjunction with a Foreign Persecutor, or in his Name; in which Case he thus expresseth himself, *Lib. 7. Cap. 8. n. 38. Ille enim tunc alienus invasor merito esse presumitur, qui sub Prætextu Religionis, Occupationem alienæ Libertatis, ac Ditionis introdat. Contra eum ergo tunc tanquam contra Hostem, et injustum Invasorem, justissimum est Bellum, ad propriam Injuriam propulsandam, ubi Compertum sit illum, non propriam suam, sed alieni Principis, puta Papæ, Causam injustam agere, ut aliquos suos subditos ei aliqua in parte subjiciat; tunc enim non Fidem, sed Libertatem injuste invasam illi tuentur, et suo Principi non ut suo, sed ut alieno alienive Ministro resistunt. Idem dicendum videtur si clarum sit proprium Principem, sub prætextu Religionis, Bellum suis subditis movere, ut eos justa privet Libertate aliqua contra Leges Regni ac plene in iis subjiciat, in quibus de Jure, ei non sunt Subjecti* —— And if there be any Case can be supposed, wherein a King unkings himself, or forfeits his Sovereignty; when once that Forfeiture is actually made by him, undoubtedly the Duty of Allegiance in the Subjects ceaseth towards him as such: For that is paid to him as *King*, and upon no other Score. His *Office* is the *Ground* of the *Subjects Duty* of *Allegiance*: Tho' I could wish all Men would be wary in treating upon this Subject, and not be too rash with the

Rights

Rights of Princes, by being too general in their Assertions.

For I know, that there is far more Danger consequent to our giving too great an Occasion to the Licentiousness of the Vulgar, by Popular Arguments against the Encroachments of Princes, than by endeavouring to set forth their Prerogatives with the best Oratory we can: And truly, were it not for that *Mystery*, Babylon *the Great, the Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth*, Rev. 17. 5. which may so delude and bigot a Prince to her Interest, as to give way to her bloody Instruments, to invade and ruine his own People, to whom he is solemnly espoused: It cannot be reasonably supposed, that ever a Prince (that is *compos Mentis*) should be so stupidly impolitick, were he ever so wickedly bent in his own Nature, as to act such Things as apparently tend to the Destruction of his own Dominions, in prosecuting the open Designs of a Foreign Prince against them, to ruine them, since he cannot but see it must also tend as directly to the Ruine of himself. 'Tis true, Kings and Princes are Flesh and Blood as well as other Men, and consequently liable to as great Failings and Imperfections, and indeed more; not only in respect of the *Difficulties* which attend such high Stations as they are in, but also in respect of the *powerful Temptations* which they are subject to above others: But it would be very severe to assert, That mere personal Faults or Miscarriages, were a *sufficient Ground* for their Subjects to depose them; and that, if it be but for this Reason, that these cannot be comparably so mischievous to the publick Peace and Tranquillity of a Kingdom,

dom, as popular Factions and Insurrections against them: And this has always made the peaceable Clergy of the Church of *England* very zealous in opposing all such, upon these Pretences. And the Truth is, the dismal Consequences of that unnatural bloody Rebellion against *Charles* the First (who was a Vertuous, Pious Prince) which too many unwary Subjects were stirr'd up to, by the Pretences of a Party, who at first pretended only to correct some Irregularities in his Reign, and at last made use of the plausible (tho' unjust) Plea, of his Design to impose *Arbitrary Government* and *Popery* upon them, to make the People more zealously bent against him; by which they were at last enabled to dethrone and murther him, and unhinge the Government. This Instance, I say, so heightned the Indignation of the Loyal Clergy, against popular Insurrections, upon any Pretence, that they thought they could never too much assert the *Prerogatives* of the *Prince*; which might drive some of them (in some Respects) to over-do their Business, and thereby to encroach too much upon the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the *People*.

But, as it has pleased God, by his Providence, to give Occasion (in permitting that Revolution) to the most Learned amongst us, to assert the *Rights of Princes*, to the utmost Advantage that Subject was capable of; so (by this latter miraculous Revolution) Providence has given Occasion to several of our Learned Clergy and others, to assert the *Rights of the Subject*, with all the Advantage that Matter was capable of: So that we have now Reason to hope that succeeding Ages

may

may thereby be the more fully directed to the Golden Mean betwixt Two Extremes, in order to the Establishing of the Peace and Tranquillity of Kingdoms, by the due Settlement of the *Rights* of *Princes*, and the *Liberties* and *Properties* of *Subjects*, upon so sure a Foundation, that neither may be tempted hereafter to encroach upon the other, but each may enjoy their own by a sure undoubted Title.

I say this, not that I think the most Learned Clergy of this Church were ignorant before of whatever could be said on any part on this Subject; but that, they seeing the mischiefs of Popular Factions, to be of far more dangerous Consequence, to the Government (in that fatal instance of the late Civil War) than the Miscarriages of Princes ordinarily were, and observing that pretence might prevail amongst the Common People, when there was nothing of reality, thought it very impolitick, and contrary to the Rules of Christian Prudence at least, to mention those exceptions ordinarily, against the general Rule of Obedience, and Submission to Princes, and to inculcate them in the Heads of the Rabble, when they saw a greater necessity of implanting those Duties well in their Minds, without any exceptions; since in a like case they had some of the very Holy Pen men of the Gospel for their examples, and that in that very case of Marriage, whereby Divines generally set forth the Solemn tie betwixt King and People; in which Case, altho' as well the Husband, as the Wife, do most solemnly devote themselves to each other, during Life, in the midst of God's People, even in our so-

ſolemn Aſſemblies, without any exception, and that the Holy Apoſtles, St. *Paul*, and St. *Peter*, in *Epheſ.* 5. *Coloſſ.* 3. 1 *Pet.* 2. do inculcate the mutual obligations of Man and Wife, without any exception of a Releaſe, upon a breach on either part; and whereas St. *Mark* 10, 11; and St. *Luke* 16. 18. and laſtly St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 11. (upon the ſame occaſion of Divorces) do ſpeak of the tie of Marriage, as an indiſſoluble obligation of Man and Wife, not to be Cancell'd; yet we find our Saviour himſelf *Math.* 5. 32, and *Matth.* 19, 9. excepting, to that general Rule, in that extraordinary Caſe of Fornication or Adultery; whereby he plainly intimates the bond of Marriage diſſolvable, ſo that the wrong'd Party may be innocent in Contracting a new Marriage: And it is worthy your obſervation, that by all the other Pen-men of the Goſpel, we find Marriage repreſented unto us, as an indiſſoluble bond betwixt Man and Wife, not to be broken; yet we have St. *Matthew*, and him only, inſtancing from our Saviour's own Mouth, in this extraordinary Caſe of Fornication (that is) Adultery excepted; whereby we may learn, that it is not always conſiſtent with the Rules of Chriſtian Prudence (ordinarily) to except in ſuch extraordinary Caſes, when we inculcate a general Rule, of great moment to the good of Mankind; and eſpecially, when we obſerve Men too prone to make a pretence of ſuch Caſes, that they may the more plauſibly break through ſuch Solemn Ties and Obligations: So that if the generality of our Learned Clergy, have of late years, only inculcated the Duty of Sub-

miſſion to their King (as a general Rule to a Rebellious People, without any exception) it ſeems a very Pardonable Omiſſion in them (if any) when they have ſuch examples (as the generality of the Holy Pen-men of the Goſpel) in a Parallel Caſe; and if ſome of them (not ſo wary, and curious as the reſt) have, in ſome expreſſions exceeded their bounds, it is on the ſafer ſide; and I think in ſo diſputable a matter, if upon a more impartial enquiry into the Truth, they find that they have been Erroneous, it is no diſparagement for them to qualify (upon a juſt occaſion) their former Aſſertions; ſince (according to the Doctrine of our Church) we can none of us pretend to an infallibility in ſuch matters, and their Conviction, or Converſion ſhews their Chriſtian Temper, and Ingenuity in ſubmitting to Reaſon, when it is made apparent to them. 'Tis true, we have many of us affirm'd, that as a Wife is always oblig'd to pay her Obedience and Subminiſſion to her own Husband, whether he be good or bad, ſo Subjects are always obliged to pay their due Obedience and Submiſſion to thoſe, that they have once Eſpouſed to be their Kings, or Supreme Governors, whether they be good or bad: But as in the firſt Caſe, we find this exception, in the extraordinary caſe of Fornication, or Adultery excepted, which diſſolves the bond of Marriage, and a Divorce may be ſued out, upon which the obligation ceaſeth: So if there be any thing equivalent to that Fornication or Adultery (betwixt Man and Wife) which diſſolves Marriage, that can be committed betwixt

King.

King and People: It may perhaps be thought (by many Learned and Honeſt Men) ſufficient to diſſolve that ſacred bond, as well as the other: And we may obſerve in the Revelations of St. *John*, mention of the Kings of the Earth committing Fornication with the great Antichriſt, which (in reſpect of God, whoſe pure Spiritual Rational Service they thereby deſert, to eſpouſe an Adulterate, Superſtitious, Idolatrous Worſhip of their own fond Imaginations) may be properly termed a Religious Fornication or Adultery; ſo (in reſpect of their People, whoſe Lawful Government and Protection they have abandon'd, to eſpouſe the Tyranny and Intereſt of a Foreign Prince and People) it may as properly be termed a Political Fornication or Adultery; and ſuch is the eſpouſing the Uſurpations and Intereſt of the King of *Rome* and his Vaſſals: I mean the Pope and Church of *Rome*; and therefore, if any are ſo bewitched with the Fornications of that *Babiloniſh* Whore, as to be Wheedled by her, to abandon his true Spouſe, his own People, and to betray them, or yield them up to be worried and enſlaved by her, unleſs they will condeſcend to ſubmit their Necks to her intollerable Yoke; if there be any ſuch thing as a Political Fornication or Adultery, this is as aggravated a one as is poſſible: And therefore, when any ſuch Caſe happens, if any thing can diſſolve the Sacred bond betwixt King and People, this muſt; and if ſo (ſince there is no Tribunal upon Earth high enough, before which the divorce may be formally ſued out, the natural neceſſity for Self-Preſervation in

the utmoſt extremity, ſeems plainly ſufficient to juſtify the People in aſſuming it themſelves (when the matter of Fact is apparent) without a formal Tryal: And which may alſo juſtify the Community (when Providence ſhall enable them to act as ſuch) even to the Contracting a new Marriage, that is, to receive another King to Govern and Protect them. As for all other Caſes which have a particular reſpect to the ſeveral Conſtitutions of Governments, we may leave to the Lawyers to determine, who are to be ſuppoſed to be beſt acquainted with ſuch matters, and every Man is to be look'd upon as a proper Judge, in things belonging to his own Art or Profeſſion; and I cannot think it a diſparagement for Clergy-men, to ſubmit to their determinations herein, when they can diſcern no evident Reaſon to the contrary: And indeed I ſhould not have mention'd theſe Caſes forgoing, but only to ſhew, that there may be other plauſible Pleas made uſe of to account for the late Revolution (more agreeable to the Doctrine of our Church) than what ſome Perſons ſo zealouſly urge; and that may more convincingly juſtify the actions of ſeveral Perſons in theſe extraordinary Caſes, which they may out of the ſincerity of their Hearts, think reaſonably to be excepted to the general Rule; yet nevertheleſs, I ſuppoſe we may all diſcern as much, if not more Reaſon to adhere to all the Principles of Loyalty, eſtabliſhed by the Doctrines of the Church of *England*, as ever; and to abhor and dread Popular Factions and Inſurrections in any Caſe whatever, as being generally more Deſtructive

ſtructive to a Government, than the Vices, and Miſ-government of Princes can be, unleſs in the like caſe beforemention'd, Of their betraying their People into the Power of their Bloody and Tyrannical Enemies of the *Roman* Church, who will Triumph in their Ruine : And I could wiſh, that all Men would be more wary, in poſitively determining in theſe or any other Caſes, whereby they endeavour to juſtify the reſiſting, and depoſing of their Supreme Governors ; for he that has but well conſider'd the many difficulties which have attended the Heroick enterpriſe of our late King, not only to ſecure his, and his Princeſſes juſt intereſt in the Succeſſion to this Crown ; but alſo to deliver us all from the Slavery of that *Babiloniſh* Strumpet, who had bewitched our former King with her Sorceries, to give way to the diſinheriting them, and ruining us ; and tho' it pleaſed God to open the Eyes of us all, to ſee his, and his Princeſſes apparent wrong, and our own danger (before his arrival) and our miraculous deliverance afterwards (when we were neceſſitated to ſhelter our ſelves under his Protection) yet when he had put us into ſuch Circumſtances, that we could not act by our Repreſentatives, as the Community, to take an Advantage of a juſt Divorce from our former King, who had deſerted us, and abdicated the Throne ; the Minds of many Men were ſtrangely wrought upon, by the Inſinuations of ſome buſie Agents amongſt us, even to abhor their own deliverance, and the Government was ſoon threatned thereby with many dreadful Convulſions (upon this Revolution)

tion) that, without God's especial Providence, had disjoynted it, nay, tho' it was brought about by as great a Miracle of Providence, and that in a manner without Bloodshed, as ever any Nation was sensible of, and tended directly to the securing us, from the unsatiable fury of our most inveterate Enemies, and the Establishing our Antient Laws and Religion, which they had almost undermin'd in the late Reign: And yet, no sooner did we apprehend the danger a little remov'd, but (before the Government could be well settled by our Representatives) we know how many were wrought upon in the interval (by the insinuated misrepresentations of their whole proceedings of Jesuits in disguise, and others in the interest of *France*) to be ready to return to their former state; tho' they could not but discern, if they would, or could consider the matter well, it must be by the Ruine of the most Heroick Prince, who was their Deliverer, the whole Protestant Line of the Royal Family, the Blood of many Thousands of their Brethren, the enslaying themselves and the whole Kingdom to the Tyranny of *Rome*, and in all probility, the depriving of all their Posterity, of the Light of the Gospel, and subjecting them to the dark Ignorance and Idolatry of that Corrupt Church; and still we find our Enemies are not altogether without hopes of accomplishing their ends upon us, by deluding the Minds of some Unconstant Men to incline to another Revolution; tho' the Powers that be (*viz.* The Government) under our most Gracious Queen

Queen (who is in full Poſſeſſion of the Throne, and under God's eſpecial Protection, and alſo ſurrounded with ſo Potent an Army, and Multitudes of adherents of all degrees) that ſuch a thing cannot be ſuppoſed to be likely to come to paſs; but by the greateſt Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, that ever was known in this Kingdom.

Which Conſideration methinks, were there nothing elſe to deter Men from ſhewing the leaſt willingneſs for ſuch a Change, and animating them firmly to adhere to the preſent Government; this one would think ſhould be enough, eſpecially conſidering how our Allegiance is due to a King *de facto*, (according to the Senſe of the moſt Learned in our Laws, and Learned Caſuiſts) who tell us, 'That were even an Uſurper once in 'full Poſſeſſion of the Throne and Govern-'ment, it is the Duty of every private Sub-'ject to ſubmit to his Power, rather than 'diſturb the Peace; and that out of reſpect 'to the very ſeat of Magiſtracy, which he 'Occupies, and to pay their Allegiance, as 'due to thoſe, from whom they receive 'their Protection, and ſuch private Subjects 'that obey not their Commands (that are 'agreeble to the Laws of God, and the 'Laws of the Land too, and reſiſt their 'Power; when they act by thoſe Rules) 'reſiſt the Ordinance of God, and are Saucy 'and Irreverent Prophaners of Majeſty; 'tho' but Perſonated in a King *de facto*. 'Tis true *aliud eſt Magiſtratum eſſe, aliud eſt in Magiſtratu eſſe, aut Magiſtratum gerere*; it is one thing to be a True or Lawful Magiſtrate,

giſtrate, another thing to bear or execute the Office of a True Magiſtrate: But yet, nevertheleſs, it is certainly a moſt unwarrantable boldneſs towards the Office of a Magiſtrate; tho' it be fill'd with a King, *de facto*, only (whoſe Acts, whilſt he is in *Magiſtratu*, in the Office, were, and are acknowledged by the Laws of the Land as valid and obliging) to contemn his Authority, and reſiſt his Power; and for this Reaſon, whoſoever reſiſts the Power, that is, the Government (tho' poſſeſs'd by ſuch a one) reſiſts the Ordinance of God; for it is not the Perſon, but the thing (that is the Government) which is called the Ordinance of God, *Rom.* 13. (according to St. *Chryſoſtom*'s interpretation of that Place, in his 23 Hom. upon the *Romans*) but then this is to be underſtood of private Subjects, in a private Capacity; not but that if there were a Lawful King, who had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of his Throne, he might juſtly endeavour by open War to retrieve his Right, and alſo ſuch Perſons might recover it for him, that are called by God to that Undertaking.

But you'll ſay, How ſhall any Perſon (now that Revolations are ceaſed) know when God has given him ſuch a Commiſſion? To which I anſwer (according to what I have ſomewhere read amongſt the Caſuiſts) that when God has raiſed a Man to ſuch a Station, as that he finds himſelf able bravely to effect it, without Baſeneſs towards the very King, *de Facto*, or Bloodſhed or Deſtruction to the Governmment, he ought to do right:

But

But as the single Right of one Man is not equivalent to the Liberties, Lives and Properties of a whole, or the greatest part of a Nation; whoever attempts such an Enterprize, must be well assured that he hazards not these thereby: For Men must not do *Evil that Good may come of it*, especially a Publick Evil for a Private Good.

And for Instance: After this Manner, God commissioned General *Monk* to restore King *Charles* the Second to his *Undoubted Right*, by raising him to such a Station, in so critical a Juncture of Affairs (when all was tending to Anarchy and Confusion) that by God's Blessing upon his Designs, he was enabled at the same time, and that without Bloodshed too, to restore the wronged King to his Right, and preserve the People from Destruction, only bringing thereby the chief Heads of the bloody Actors of the Murther of his Royal Father to condign Punishment. And therefore were there no other Obligation upon Men, than that they were under the Government and Protection of a King *de Facto*, tho' not *de Jure*, they owed him *Submission* and *Allegiance*.

I mention not this as tho' I had the least Thought, that either our late King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, or our present most Gracious Queen *ANN* had no other Title but Possession: For, if either Abdication, Desertion, or Political Fornication, (that is) Adultery, be either, or all of them a Forfeiture of the Right of the former

King, undoubtedly he had highly incurred it in all Reſpects: And if either Conqueſt of the King then in being, Redemption of the People from apparent Ruine, mature Election of the Repreſentatives of the whole Nation, after a full and free Debate, full Poſſeſſion, as firſt Queen *MARY*'s, and after Queen *ANN*'s Right to Succeſſion, upon a Vacancy, or all together, can give a Juſt and Legal Title to the Crown, (which ſeems to me beyond Diſpute) our late King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY* might lawfully accept it, eſpecially when it was tender'd to them, as their Right, by the Convention of the whole Nation; and after them Queen *ANN* aſſume it as her Right by Succeſſion, and now moſt Rightfully and Legally enjoys it, in as ample Manner as any Prince in Chriſtendom do their own. And if there be ſome Learned Men of another Opinion, there are a greater Number of the contrary; and I am ſure that the Common-People and Vulgar Clergy are not competent Judges to decide the Controverſy; which makes it at leaſt a neceſſary Duty for them to ſubmit to the Powers in being, *viz.* the preſent Government: And if it appears to be but ſuch a moot Caſe, *viz.* ſuch a difficult Point to ſome of the moſt Learned of us, (that we cannot be infallibly aſſured of the Truth of our own Determinations to the contrary) it thereby became the Neceſſary Duty of them, alſo to have paid their Allegiance to our late King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, and now to Queen *ANN* in actual Poſſeſſion of the Government, as that which tends moſt to the

the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom; and the avoiding Bloodshed add Ruine to the whole Community.

And now then, If we seriously consider all these Things together, no reasonable Man amongst us can think, that our Reverend Clergy have in any Respects forfeited their Reputation (for their Loyalty and Submission) in paying their Allegiance to our late King and Queen, or our present Queen, when in Possession of the Throne, either in Praying for them as such, or taking the Oath of Allegiance to them successively: And, methinks, it should be a sufficient Satisfaction to them all,

First, That whatever Evil there might be in Resisting or Rebelling against the former King *JAMES* by any of his Subjects, (whilst he was in Possession of the Government) that the Generality of the Clergy of *England* themselves were innocent, being no Actors in any such thing, as the World can testify for them.

Secondly, In that the chief Person, who brought an Army against him, owed him no Allegiance or Subjection at all, but was a Sovereign Prince himself, and invaded him openly and bravely as such; and that upon a Just Occasion to begin a War with him, not only (upon his own Score) to vindicate his Princess's and his own Just Interest, in the Succession to this Throne (of which there were Designs on Foot, abetted by

by the former King, to supplant them) but also to relieve the oppressed People from apparent Destruction, coming upon them by the bloodiest of their Enemies, in which Just War (by God's Providence) he was so successful as to vanquish the former King, and make him run the Field, and to take Possession of the Government upon his Desertion; and which he was necessitated to do, as the only Means for his own Safety, and the Safety of the People, and to accomplish the Just Design he engaged in: And tho' we were ever so strict in Censuring and Opposing the *Resistance of Subjects*, in taking up Arms against their King, upon any Pretence whatsoever; (and indeed we have great Reason to assert still, that it is not lawful for private Subjects at least to do so) yet our present Case has no Relation thereunto. For as *Charron*, in his Third Book of *Wisdom*, Chapter the 16th, of the Duty of Sovereign, and Subjects, saith well, 'These 'Affairs belong not to all, but to the Tutors, and Maintainers of the State, or 'those that are interess'd therein; as E'lectors of Elective States; or Princes Ap'parent in Hereditary Estates; or States 'General, that have Fundamental Laws—— And a little after, he proceeds to justify it as Honourable for a Stranger, yea (*says he*) 'It is most Noble and Heroical in a Prince, 'by Warlike means to defend a People un'justly oppress'd; and to free them from 'Tyranny, as *Hercules* did; and afterwards '*Dion*, *Timoleon* and *Tamberlaine*, Prince of 'the *Tartars*, who overcame *Bajazet* the

Turkish

'*Turkiſh* Emperour, and Beſieged *Conſtanti-*
'*nople:* To whom we may add (amongſt others) the example of our moſt Renouned Queen *ELISABETH*, who upon the like occaſion rais'd Armies, and engaged in War to relieve the oppreſs'd People of the *Low Countrys*, and *Scotland* too, from the Tyranny of their Princes.

And if it be Lawful, nay, Commendable, for a Sovereign Prince thus by open War to relieve an Oppreſs'd People from Tyranny, and to protect them from Ruine, how Unjuſt, and Ungrateful are thoſe *Engliſh* Men, who Reproach the Memory of our late Heroick King *WILLIAM*, for bravely reſcuing this Nation (in its utmoſt extremity) from Deſtruction? And we may well conclude hence, That it was certainly Lawful for us to accept his deliverance (under God's eſpecial Providence) when it was once effected: And this is all that is now, or was by him, required of the Clergy of *England*, and they may nevertheleſs continue conſtant and unwavering (as I hope they all do) in aſſerting the Eſtabliſhed Doctrine of our Loyal Church of *England* as a General Rule, and not think it always neceſſary to mention any exceptions thereunto to juſtifie them therein, either in accounting for the Legality of the late Revolution under the Conduct of King *WILLIAM*, or to ſupport the Title to the Crown of our preſent excellent Queen *ANNE*, or her Legal Proteſtant Succeſſors of the Royal Houſe of *Hanovor* (after Her

Her and her Heirs) who are now ſo Legally Eſtabliſhed in their Right (according to the known Laws of the Land) by the Concurrence of the whole Legiſlative Power and Authority of this Nation (as it is ſettled by our Conſtitution in the King or Queen, together with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament) that there is now no juſt ground for any doubt in any one, but that we may all reſolve to maintain it, with our Lives and Fortunes, eſpecially conſidering, that we are obliged to act nothing herein, but what is agreable to the Doctrine of our Glorious Church of *England* as by Law Eſtabliſhed, whoſe Honour I hope we ſhall always ſtudy to preſerve, by a conſtant Practice ſuitable thereunto. Which, that we all may, is the conſtant hearty Prayer, of one of the meaneſt of her Sons.

FINIS.